7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

444 candies, each kind in a large glass jar; bottles of *'araq*, sweet summer drink extracts, and denatured alcohol (for preheating Primus stoves and lanterns); writing paper, pens, pencils, and ink; hairpins, combs, toothpaste, and soap; flashlights and batteries—all of these on shelves set against the walls. We can generalize by saying that the stores provide the villagers with all their purchased food except bread and with small items of everyday use. Conspicuously lacking are clothes, furniture, and all household utensils except the pottery drinking jars which are carried by some of the stores. All other larger items are bought directly from Jbayl or Beirut.

One person said that he made it a practice to patronize all the stores in order not to slight any of the proprietors. How common this practice is the writer does not know. Since the stores are so close together, patronization on the basis of proximity is not likely to be a factor in the determination of particular clienteles.

477 One would expect that the stores would be in keen competition, and, certainly, commercial competition is nothing new or foreign to Lebanon. But among the village stores there appeared to be little if any competition, and some assistance between proprietors was observed. One informant explained the situation in this way:

> Well, they *are* in competition, but you see [and here he seemed quite at a loss for words. He started again:] There is a saying in Arabic *Likull 'insaan rizquhu*. It means: "Every person has his fortune." Well, you know, it really means everyone will receive his due. You see, one helps the other because later the other will help the one. But it is more than mutual help; when X helps Y, they may not want to do it, but they do it *anyway* because they do not want people to think that they are enemies or jealous of each other.

577 621 476 The saying which was used by this informant is a positive expression, similar in connotation to the lilies of the field passage in the Sermon on the Mount, of the fatalism which is commonly attributed, with some justification, to the Arabs. We might elucidate its full meaning by paraphrasing it as follows: "You will get your just reward in whatever you are doing if you behave justly." In this case, behaving justly involves the kind of mutual help within an in-group (the village) which is essential to its solidarity. But also, in a wider sense, it is the writer's opinion that among the Arabs, competition for its own sake is not a *generalized* behavioral value, though they do come close to this in their social and cultural group rivalries. Furthermore, none of the four proprietors concerned in this matter is dependent solely on his store for his income. Each is a landowner and maintains his property for agricultural purposes.

444 517 [265] Turning, now, to the function of the stores as meeting places for the men, we are reminded of the interesting notion, set forth by Kohn (1936, p. 70), that in the Mediterranean area generally, the center of personal and social life is the open, public place—forum, agora, coffee house, and open shop.

In Munsif, there is no coffee house and the stores to some extent take the

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

ment by most of the middle-aged people and with unfeigned derision by many, though not all, younger people. One middle-aged woman said that of course everyone knew how to do the *dabki*, and that "it is done sometimes, and at weddings." "But," she said, "it is better when everyone does it dressed in *shirwal* and *agal* and *kuffiyyah*." The only interpretation which the writer can give to this remark is that the *dabki* is associated with the old days which are no more. There is some evidence that the dance is done far less now in general than it used to be. An acquaintance of the writer's in Beirut, an American of Lebanese ancestry, said that for two years he had looked around unsuccessfully for a performance of it in Beirut. On at least one occasion his inquiries were met with the scornful remark: "Oh, the *dabki* is just for peasants in the mountains."

For the most part, the adolescent and young adult Munsifiin seem to be committed to the rejection of the more obvious concomitants of their peasant background, and their de-emphasis on the *dabki* is probably an aspect of this. Rather than the *dabki*, it is the samba, rumba, and tango which please the young people most. In this respect, Munsif is by no means an isolated case. Spanish and South American rhythms are immensely popular among the Lebanese. That well-known tune, "La Compecita," was a popular classic in Lebanon in 1943, and it remains so today. The appeal appears to be more rhythmical than melodic, and of course Spanish music has for a long time been influenced by Arab modes.

The social gatherings in the club are, in sum, featured by the playing mostly of Spanish and South American dances and songs on the phonograph. In traditional Arab culture there is no "concert" music. Music is either to be danced to or it is merely background for a poetic recitation. The second function is maintained today by the traditional forms, but the first has been expanded and taken over by Western forms. Dancing to Western music involves close physical contact between the sexes, and this is very much at variance with traditional norms. One older man, in fact, said, "All this touching is not good for the young people." In general, Western free social intercourse between the sexes has been a difficult kind of behavior for young people of the Middle East to adjust themselves to. To many of them it suggests an invitation to free sexual intercourse, an understandable misinterpretation which has led to much pain and embarrassment, for example, among students in the city.

THE HOME

Hospitality is a virtue which the Arabs value very highly, in part because it implies generosity, another trait which is explicitly valued. At whatever time a guest may arrive at a house, a cup of coffee is made specially for him; and if the occasion requires it, he is invited to dine and even to spend the night. All this is, as often as not, done without any prior notice at all.

The principle of hospitality applies among the villagers in their daily lives, although ordinarily it involves no further effort than making coffee. In the absence